

and, if need be, sacrificing himself in the battle; that is, I mean that I could not be a Christian otherwise, though I have certainly had intercourse with a great many enlightened and Christian people who did no such thing; and I confess that the apathy of religious people on this subject, their want of perception of wrongs that filled me with horror, have engendered in me more skepticism than any other thing."

"If you knew all this," said Miss Ophelia, "why didn't you do it?"

"Oh, because I have had only that kind of benevolence which consists in lying on a sofa and cursing the church and clergy for not being martyrs and confessors. One can see, you know, very easily, how others ought to be martyrs."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1851.

CORRESPONDENTS will have to wait a little while. We shall soon have more room.

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF A SUMMER WITH DR. SINGLETARY has reached us from Whittier. It will appear next week.

WORCESTER SUBSCRIBERS.—The *Era* during the present month has been sent to subscribers at Worcester, by express, to save them some extra postage, which it was supposed they would be obliged to pay for an odd month. As this reason no longer holds, the paper will hereafter be sent to them by mail.

MILTON IN HIS BLINDNESS.—The remarkable lines published in the *Era* a few weeks ago, purporting to have been written by Milton in his old age and blindness, and printed as such in the carefully prepared Oxford edition of his works, were the production of an American writer, Elizabeth Lloyd, of Philadelphia, the knowledge of whose authorship has been hitherto almost entirely confined to the circle of her personal friends. The fact that the mistake of attributing them to Milton has been made by competent judges and admirers of the Bard of Paradise, is certainly no slight compliment to their real author.

WANTED.—An efficient and responsible agent, to canvass the city of New York for subscribers to this paper.

In making up clubs for the *National Era*, it is not required that subscribers shall all be at the same post office.

Persons sending us clubs can always make additions to the same at the regular club prices.

CLOSE OF VOLUME FIFTH OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

This number closes the fifth volume of the *National Era*. It contains, as the reader will observe, a full, well-arranged Index.

We have now more subscribers on our list than at any former period; but we shall not off this week a larger number who have not yet received. They know our terms. Still, as the great majority will probably renew, we shall print an edition large enough to furnish them with back numbers, so that they may keep their files unbroken—provided they send in their names in a reasonable time.

The West, as usual, is a little behind the East in promptness, but the renewals, from present appearances, will be general. From all parts of the country we are receiving large accessions of new subscribers.

Again we must thank our friends warmly for their disinterested efforts in extending our circulation, and for the too flattering words of encouragement with which they have cheered and strengthened us.

PROSPECTUS OF THE SIXTH VOLUME OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The *National Era* is an Anti-Slavery, Literary, and Political newspaper, published weekly, at Washington, D. C., by G. Bailey. Its character may be learned by the following statement of principles.

We believe—

In the unity and common origin of the human race.

In the doctrine that God made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth.

In the golden rule—"Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you."

In the Higher Law—"It is better to obey God than man."

In Liberty, as the fundamental condition of Human Progress and Perfection.

In Law, as the Defence, not Destroyer, of Liberty.

In Order, as the result of Liberty established and protected, not subverted, by Law.

In the American Union, not as an end, but as a means—a means to the establishment of Liberty and Justice, worthy of support only so long as it shall answer these great ends.

"We hold these Truths to be self-evident—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;

"That among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

"That to secure these rights Governments are established among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;

"That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

We hold these Truths to be applicable at all times, to all men, of whatever color or complexion, in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

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In the long sessions, before the holidays, Congress generally does little but initiate business. The Committees are appointed; subjects are referred; the sessions commence at twelve o'clock, and close usually at three, and are held, except in extraordinary cases, only four days in the week, both Houses adjourning over from Thursday till Monday.

Up to this time, the House of Representatives has neither said nor done ought worthy of remark. In the Senate, the debate on the Kosuth resolutions was animated and deeply interesting, and the passage of the resolutions was a triumph of the liberal spirit. The only other subject of interest was the proposed ratification of the Compromise measures, moved by Mr. Foote, and to accommodate his movements, as his time expired on the 20th, the Senate sat every day last week, listening for two days to an elaborate, carefully-prepared speech by the Senator from Mississippi. The strife was confined chiefly to Southern men. No Senator from the North, except Mr. Hale, took part in it. A Southern man set the ball of agitation in motion, and Southern men have kept it rolling. Of course, they are not agitators; they are peace-makers! They fight for peace, they organize for quiet! Should a Northern man take part in the discussion, they would denounce him as an agitator—they would cry out persecution—they would complain of this eternal meddling with their domestic institutions—this waste of time and obstruction of business by an officious, a vexatious, profane discussion.

The Anti-Slavery members of the Senate have done wisely. The Pro-Slavery men are engaged in the very useful work of unmasking their policy, and exposing their divisions and animosities. When they get tired, they may dispose of the subject, by laying it upon the table. If they do not, if the question on the direct passage of the resolutions must be met, then, we suppose, Anti-Slavery Senators will feel constrained to demand a hearing, and the Senate must make up its mind to a debate somewhat different from that which has so far continued.

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DEBATE IN THE SENATE, ON THE THIRTEENTH.

A spirited debate took place in the Senate, on the 13th instant, on the compromise resolution submitted by Mr. Foote. Mr. Rhet, of South Carolina, having occupied the attention of the body for two days, with a harangue on the wrongs of the South, and the duty of secession, and imputed to the Northern States inability or indolence to carry out the law and Constitution so far as they granted protection to slavery, Mr. Brodhead, the new Senator from Pennsylvania, rose to voice for the fidelity of his State to the demands of slavery. He declared that the Fugitive Slave Law would be executed in "the good old Commonwealth," and that if any man were convicted of riot or misdemeanor in resisting it, Col. Bigler, the Democratic Governor, would not pardon him. He boasted that nearly every week since the passage of the law, fugitives had been delivered up in his State. As to the Christiana case, the zeal of the officers had led them to mistake the proper remedy. He referred to the action of a Democratic Legislature, in passing a bill for the repeal of certain laws unacceptable to the South, which was pocketed by the Whig Governor, and never returned—and to the last election, one of the issues of which was, this very Fugitive Slave Law, and on which the Democratic party had gone into power.

Mr. Brodhead's submissive tone and humble protestations did not satisfy Mr. Rhet, who still expressed doubts even of the loyalty of the good old Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

It was refreshing to turn from the generalities of this new Senator, to the upright and veteran Hale. He exposed the policy of the Senator from Mississippi in introducing his resolution, extorting from him the admission that should California ask to be divided, he would vote for the division. So then, the compromise, of which the admission of California, with its slavery restrictive provision, was an essential part, was not after all to be final. The only thing gained by the North was the admission of this State with its entire boundary—all the rest of the compromise was a gain to the South. And all was to be held sacred, except the part relating to California. He thought the policy of the slaveholders might be summed up in a single resolution:

"Resolved, That the South having got everything claimed, will be content till it want something more."

In one portion of his speech, he made an attack upon the Supreme Court. "I know this," he exclaimed, "whatever may be the character of these Territorial Judges, there is a tribunal that sits in the room beneath this Senate Chamber, that is the very citadel of American slavery, and it will be safe there, whatever these Territorial Judges may say or do."

Established orders sympathize with each other.

Com. Stockton, professing justly enough, ignorance of the rules of order, came to the defence of the Supreme Court, and called Mr. Hale to order. The Vice President of course informed him that a Senator was at perfect liberty to speak of any co-ordinate branch of the Government, excepting the other branch of the Legislature. The remark of Mr. Hale produced quite a flurry, and divers Senators resented it, among them, Butler, Douglas, Cass, and Walker.

He fully sustained himself against their captious objections, showing that, notwithstanding the free States had a free population twice as large as that of the slave States, the judicial circuits were so arranged as to secure for the latter always five out of the nine members of the Court; and still further, that their decisions on questions of Slavery were influenced by their localities. He disclaimed any imputation against their integrity, but held that they must be more than human if they were inaccessible to the influences of birth, education, and associations.

Mr. Hale's position is sustained by common sense and facts; and Senators showed a superfluous zeal and no little hardihood in assailing it. As to their sensitiveness to attacks upon the Supreme Court, there is not one of them who is not in the habit of assailing the President in far more severe terms than those in which Mr. Hale spoke of the Supreme Judiciary; and then it should be remembered that, while Mr. Foote, some two years ago, singled out a particular member of the Court, and made him the subject of the most unparagoning invective, Mr. Hale directed his remarks against the Court as a whole, avoiding, as he always does, harsh personalities.

AID TO HUNGARY—CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

A Central Committee, composed of some of the most influential citizens of New York, has been organized with a view to raise money to aid Governor Kosuth in his intended movements for the revolution of Hungary. It is constituted as follows:

Chairman—Simon Draper.

Vice Chairmen—Theodore Sedgwick, Oscar W. Sturtevant.

Secretaries—Henry J. Raymond, John Cockran, Robert L. Kennedy.

Sub-Executive Committee—John W. Edmonds, Charles C. Butler, James I. King, C. M. Leupp, Jacob Hansen.

Committee on Public Entertainments—Ambrose C. Kingleland, Junius T. Stagg, James Kelly.

Committee on Correspondence—George Bancroft, John Van Buren, John H. Gourlie, George W. Blunt, Henry J. Raymond.

KOSUTH AND THE WASHINGTON PRESS—NON-INTERVENTION.

The conduct of the Washington Press, in relation to Kosuth, clearly reveals its character and position. We do not think there is a Press in the world more conservative, more distrustful of the Democratic principle. The *National Intelligencer* is possessed with a perpetual horror of revolution, and sets its face like flint against any movement or man, looking in that direction. Its course in relation to Kosuth, from the moment that Calumny began to assail him, has been perfectly consistent. It gave credence and circulation to the gross fabrications of the miserable attacks, and has never yet made a full retraction. It has disparaged his genius, distorted his movements, caricatured his policy, republished whatever it could find able or alarming—anything in them which our People and our Government may not grant, without violating the Laws of Nations, or can refuse to grant without violating the Principle which lies at the base of our own Political System, and the claims of Human Brotherhood, and without detriment to our reputation and future interests.

MOVEMENTS OF KOSUTH.

Kosuth, while in New York, delivered speeches at the Corporation Banquet, on the doctrine of Non-Intervention; at the Banquet given by the Citizens of New York, in honor of the liberal movements in Hungary; to an immense assemblage of citizens in Mr. Beecher's Church, on Civil and Religious Liberty; to the Members of the Bar, on International Law; to the Military, on Miscellaneous topics connected with Revolutionary Movements. The most able and comprehensive speech of all, containing a full exhibition of his policy and the reasons on which it is founded, delivered at the Corporation Banquet, have been published in the *Era*. Our limited space allows only a notice of the other speeches, which are all marked by the characteristic genius and inspiration of the great Hungarian. We learn from the *New York Evening Post* that all his speeches from the time he put foot on the steamer Mississippi, in England and this country, are to be collected together, carefully revised, and published. Such a volume will find hundreds of thousands of readers.

Kosuth received the official notification of the resolution passed by Congress, giving him a cordial welcome to this country, with strong emotion, declaring that it was the great honor of his life, and announcing that he would proceed speedily to Washington, to make his acknowledgments to Congress and the Government.

The Southern Press was warm in admiration of him while in England, has praised him considerably since his arrival on our shores; some weeks ago, when Mr. Corry made his speech at the Tammany Hall meeting, concurred in its sentiments, and thought our policy of neutrality not adapted to the times; but the wind now set in another quarter. It did not exactly like Mr. Seward's resolution, thought Shields's resolution was going too far, is evidently afraid of committing the Government to any policy but that of absolute neutrality.

The Union was at first quite friendly to Kosuth; published his address, rather, we suspected, under the impression that it would derive advantage from that fact, but has never defended him cordially against the calumnies of his enemies, was silent about the resolutions in the Senate, has at last taken ground that Kosuth would be a netted mouse to the People, and asked nothing from the Government—just as much afraid of the *Intelligencer*, of his policy.

What is his policy? Reasonable and lawful. He declares and manifests profound respect for the laws of this country. He always speaks in the most respectful terms of Congress and the President. It is false, as is represented in some journals quoted from by the *Intelligencer*, that he has appealed from the Government to the People; it is false that he has initiated in a single particular the course of Genet, under Washington's Administration. It is false that he has questioned the wisdom of General Washington, or imputed, directly or indirectly, ignorance to any of our statesmen. He does not seek to get up armed expeditions, to fit out vessels of war. He asks no money from the Government, nor any nominations of war. Newspapers that report such things of him say what they do not know, or what they know to be false.

What then is the sum of his requests? He asks from the People sympathy and money—money to aid in the initiative of another struggle for Hungary and Freedom. He asks from the Government that it should recognize Hungary, and himself as its Governor, and that it should affirm and enforce, by such measures as it may deem right, the great principle of the Law of Nations, that one nation has a right to regulate its own institutions, without interference from other nations. Of the reasonableness of his demands upon the People, no American need be led to the claims of the humanity of Human Brotherhood, can entertain the slightest doubt. In relation to the recognition of Hungary by the Government, he cannot mean that it should recognize the fact of its independence, or the fact that he is Governor; because neither fact exists; but that Congress and the President should recognize the independence of Hungary and his authority as Governor, *de jure*. It may serve to ally the apprehensions of some timid people, to be assured that the President, in his message to Congress, has already anticipated this demand, by styling him Governor of Hungary—not late Governor, or Ex-Governor—but Governor of Hungary; meeting by the phrase, we doubt not, to American, not to the whole power of the humanity of Human Brotherhood, can entertain the slightest doubt. In relation to the recognition of Hungary by the Government, he cannot mean that it should recognize the fact of its independence, or the fact that he is Governor; because neither fact exists; but that Congress and the President should recognize the independence of Hungary and his authority as Governor, *de jure*. 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